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ABSTRACT

This study examines the effect of one social milieu factor (Israeli kibbutz versus urban lifestyle) on Israeli adolescents' future orientation. Responses of 114 kibbutz and 112 urban adolescents to an open-ended Future Orientation Questionnaire are grouped into nine life domains: school and matriculation, military service, higher education, work and career, marriage and family, self, others, collective issues, and community service. Analysis shows that, overall, kibbutz adolescents express fewer concerns for the future (lower salience), and their image of the future is less detailed and elaborate (lower specificity). These tendencies are especially manifested in domains pertaining to transition to adulthood (military service, higher education) and adulthood (work and career, marriage and family) roles. Results are interpreted in terms of a negative relationship between the appraisal of environmental responsiveness to prospective needs and future orientation. Integration of these results with earlier findings indicating a positive relationship between social conditions and future orientation suggest that the relationship between the appraisal of environmental responsiveness and future orientation has an inverted U-shape. A four-page bibliography is attached. (Author/JAZ)

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Adolescents' Concerns: Analysis of the Effect of Social Milieu on future orientation

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Abstract

This study examines the effect of one social milieu factor (Israeli kibbutz vs. urban lifestyle) on adolescents' future orientation. Responses of 114 kibbutz and 112 urban adolescents to an open-ended Future Orientation Questionnaire are grouped into 9 life domains: School and matriculation, Military service, Higher education, Work and career, Marriage and family, Self, Others, Collective issues, Community service. Analysis shows that, overall, kibbutz adolescents express fewer concerns for the future (lower Salience), and their image of the future is less detailed and elaborate (lower Specificity). These tendencies are especially manifested in domains pertaining to transition to adulthood (Military service, Higher education) and adulthood (Work and career, Marriage and family) roles. Results are interpreted in terms of a negative relationship between the appraisal of environmental responsiveness to prospective needs and future orientation. Integration of these results with earlier findings indicating a positive relationship between social conditions and future orientation, suggest a proposition that the relationship between the appraisal of environmental responsiveness and future orientation has an inverted U-shape.

Adolescents' Concerns: Analysis of the Effect of Social Milieu on future orientation

This study addresses adolescents' Future orientation, that is the image that adolescents hold concerning their future. Students of human development regard adolescence as a time of transition, at the end of which young people enter adulthood by assuming the roles of worker, spouse and parent (Marini 1984). This transition involves orientation toward the future, described by various investigators as investment in the future (Erikson 1968), explorations of future roles (Archer 1985; Marcia 1966) and planning and preparation for the future (Douvan and Adelson 1966; Sundberg, Poole and Tyler 1983). Cognitive psychologists (Inhelder and Piaget 1958; Keating 1980) suggest that the development of formal operational thinking in adolescence facilitates anticipation of future events and the development of strategies for dealing with future problems. The present analysis focuses on the social facilitation of Future orientation, and its objective is to study the extent to which one aspect of social milieu, that is lifestyle as it is manifested in kibbutz vs. urban living, facilitates the development of Future orientation.

Future orientation, as indicated above, pertains to individuals' subjective image of the future, or to their naive theory for predicting the future. This subjective image is affected by the person's need situation (Nuttin, 1964) and the

value of behavior outcomes (Raynor and Entin 1983). It can be analyzed in terms of cognitive variables like time span or extension (Roberts and Greene 1971; Sundberg et al. 1983; Trommsdorff, Lamm and Schmidt 1979), and affective variables like involvement in the future (DeVolder 1979; Gjesme 1975) and optimism (Lamm, Schmidt and Trommsdorff 1976). That is, Future orientation is motivationally based and can be described in terms of cognitive and affective variables.

Review of future orientation research shows that while thematic content is frequently employed in the operationalization of future orientation's cognitive and affective components, only few investigators (e.g., M nks 1968; Sundberg et al. 1983; Trommsdorff et al. 1979) study it directly. However, the study of Future orientation as a subjective theory to predict the future and prepare for it should start with the description of its content and focus on the analysis of its thematic structure. To pursue this analysis the present study addresses three questions. First, what content categories, or <u>life domains</u>, make up adolescents' representation of the future. Second, how <u>salient</u> are the various life domains for adolescents, and third, how <u>specific</u>, that is schematic vs. detailed and elaborate, is adolescents' representation of future life domains.

The conceptualization of Salience and Specificity is introduced elsewhere (Seginer 1988) and their operationalization - in the Method section. At this point suffice it to say that <u>Salience</u> pertains to the attention given by a person to each life

domain. Though psychologists regard Salience as a cognitive feature they also suggest that it reflects subjective importance (Super and Nevil 1984), personal regard (Rosenberg 1979) and valued goals (Nuttin 1964 in Trommsdorff, Burger and Fuschle 1982). Future life Salience is then the attention, importance and regard given by individuals to each life domain. Specificity pertains to the degree of detail, concreteness, and cognitive elaboration with which individuals construct each future life domain. Thus, whereas earlier research refers to such structural aspects like interdomain differentiation and intradomain density (Trommsdorff et al. 1982; Trommsdorff et al. 1979), the present study adds a new, content-based, dimension of cognitive elaboration.

To illustrate the effect of adolescents' social milieu on their future orientation, the present study takes for its area of application an Israeli city - Kibbutz comparison. Kibbutz adolescents, it should be noted, share with the rest of the Jewish population in Israel a Western standard of living and two to three years of military service, prescribed for 18 year-old males and females. The unique features of kibbutz socialization highlighted by investigators involve separate dwelling of children in "children's houses" (Devereux, Shouval, Bronfenbrenner, Rodgers, Kav-Venaki, Kiely and Karson 1974), an underlying collective ideology (Florian 1983) and communal responsibility for bringing up children (Fuchs, Berg-Eisenberg, Herz- Lazarowitz and Sharabani 1985). Students of

kibbutz education point out that kibbutz educational objectives draw on both the liberal tradition in education and the ideology and practice of the kibbutz as a communal organization.

Quarter (1982) identified three such objectives. One is self motivation rather than external direction and evaluation by grading. The second is bringing up a well-rounded individual who develops many interests and knowledge in a variety of subjects, rather than specialization in only few subjects. The third objective is collective rather than individual achievement. Present educational practice departs from these objectives by introducing two options. One is matriculation (i.e., government sponsored college-bound program, and examinations, leading to an optional high school diploma) which impinges on the principle of self motivation. The second is vocational education which interferes with the well-rounded individual principle. However, these two options apply only at the senior high school level. Up until then kibbutz education adheres quite closely to its original educational objectives.

All in all, then, kibbutz adolescents grow up in an environment emphasizing both individualistic and collectivistic values. Autonomy, self motivation, and self expression exemplify individuality, and collective achievement and the primacy of the peer group, or "educational group" as a socialization agent (see also Devereux et al. 1974) signify collectivism.

As follows from kibbutz ideology (Talmon, 1972) and manifested by the socialistic dictum "from each according to his/her ability to each according to his/her needs", the interests of the individual and the collective are not only compatible but also interdependent. Kibbutz praxis involves subordination, or at best adjustment, of one's goals to those of the kibbutz but offers a reduced overall personal responsibility and ample social and economic security. A major manifestation of this security from adolescents' standpoint is that kibbutz membership is almost automatically granted to each adult kibbutz-child contending for it.

The greater prospective security together with an emphasis on freedom of choice (Alon 1986; Zur 1984), exemplifying kibbutz socialization result, it is here suggested, in less concern for the future among kibbutz than among urban adolescents. The proposition is that kibbutz and urban adolescents, sharing a common culture and similar standard of living, will describe their future in terms of similar life domains. However, Future orientation will be less salient and described with less detail and elaboration (Specificity) by kibbutz than by urban adolescents. These differences will be especially manifested in life domains pertaining to adult normative roles like Work and career and Marriage and family. Higher education, consisting of the first step of many middle class occupations, will show a similar pattern of lower Salience and Specificity for kibbutz than for urban adolescents.

In line with earlier studies of adolescents' gender differences (Archer 1985; Douvan and Adelson, 1966; Hodgson and Fischer 1979), the present analysis also considers gender differences. However, since its main objective is to examine the effect of social milieu on adolescents' Future orientation, gender differences are reported but not discussed.

In sum, then, the objective of this analysis is to study the effect of social milieu, manifested in kibbutz vs. urban lifestyle, on adolescents' Future orientation by addressing three questions concerning the extent to which kibbutz and urban adolescents differ in (a) the content (b) the salience and (c) the specificity with which they describe anticipated events and experiences. Examination of pertinent features of kibbutz socialization leads to the proposition that kibbutz adolescents will express less concern with the future. This tendency will especially be manifested in lower Salience and Specificity of life domains like Higher education, Work and career and Marriage and family, pertaining to transition to adulthood and adulthood roles.

Method

Subjects: 114 kibbutz adolescents (59 males and 55 females) and 112 urban adolescents (61 males and 51 females) participated in this study. All participants were high school seniors. The urban adolescents studied in a college bound

(matriculation) program. The kibbutz school is nonselective and as earlier suggested offers the matriculation program as an option only. Thus, whereas kibbutz students participated in the same and one program, the matriculation students (about 60% of high school students in that year) took additional academic courses, and their school year was extended by 10 weeks.

The instrument: The Future orientation Questionnaire (Trommsdorff et al. 1982) is an open-ended questionnaire assessing hopes and fears for the future. Respondents were requested to think about their future and write down everything that came to mind. In the first section respondents listed their hopes for the future and in the second section, their fears for the future. Each statement (i.e., a hope or a fear) was listed on a separate line, and respondents were requested to note the year (or alternatively their age) in which a certain event or experience would take place. Each section contained 10 numbered lines, but the respondents were free to write down as many hopes and fears as came to their minds.

Procedure: Questionnaires were group administered during one class session. Data collection took place in the last trimester of the academic year 1984, a few weeks before students finished classes and college-bound students started on the final phase of their matriculation examinations. Questionnaires were anonymous, and the only personal information requested was respondent's gender.

Analysis: Future orientation data analysis consisted of two steps: Categorization into life domains and Specificity ratings.

Life domains categorization. Each Hope and Fear statement was categorized by two coders into one of nine categories: School and matriculation, Military service, Higher education, Work and career, Marriage and family (children), Others (including parents, friends, peers and intimate relationships), Self (pertaining to general hopes and fears like "To fulfill all my wishes", Travelling and leisure, Illness and death), Collective issues (including collective issues concerning the economy, political issues and kibbutz issues and war and peace concerns), and Community service (helping a young kibbutz or doing youth work in a developmental area for one year prior to military service). The overall intercoder reliability is 94.6% (93.0% and 96.2% for kibbutz and urban adolescents, respectively). Whereas the first eight life domains were generated from earlier data (Seginer, 1988), the Community service category was generated to accommodate the kibbutz data. Another adjustment to kibbutz data pertains to the definition of Work and career. Following Super's definition of career as "... the combination and sequence of roles played by a person during the course of a life time" (1980, p. 282) kibbutz adolescents' statements like "To live on a kibbutz", "To be a kibbutz member" were classified as career statements and consist part (41%) of the Work and career category.

Salience scores: Each life domain was scored by summing up the number of pertinent Hopes and Fears statements, hereafter Concerns. E.g., a respondent writing down the following Concerns "To get married", "To have 3 beautiful children", "That my children will be healthy (my sister suffers a genetic disease)" received a Marriage and family score of 3. The total number of Concerns expressed by each respondent comprises the salience of global Future orientation. Since respondents were instructed to make "as few or as many statements" as came to their minds, a safeguard against Pareto distribution bias (Johnson and Kotz, 1972) was required. Such biases may occur if a distribution has no upper limit, and hence no comparable units. Hence, the raw total score was recoded so that scores of 0 to 2 retained their original value, and 3 through high = 3.

Specificity Ratings: Each statement was rated on a 1 to 3 scale concerning the extent to which a specific situation, experience or person was referred to. A score of 1 was given to statements which referred to an event or experience in general terms only, e.g., "Getting married"; "Military service", "Having children"; "Peace". A score of 2 was given to statements referring to an event or condition in general terms but also including a descriptor (e.g., "Happy marriage"; "An interesting job"), and to statements referring to a specific object or situation without any further details or elaborations, e.g., "To live in a socialistic country"; "Computers will control humans." A score of 3 was given to statements which concerned a

specific event or condition: e.g., "Straight A matriculation grades"; "Ph.D. in Psychology"; "Marry my boyfriend, Danny"; "The Israeli army will pull out of Lebanon". Each statement was rated by two independent raters. The overall interrater reliability is 91.4%; interrater reliability for kibbutz and urban respondents' statements is 90.9% and 91.9%, respectively. A domain mean Specificity score is Sum of Specificity ratings/Number of statements. Global mean Specificity score is Total Specificity rating/Total number of statements.

Results

Data analysis pertains to the three questions presented earlier concerning the effect of kibbutz vs. urban lifestyle on the Future orientation of adolescent males and females.

Life domains making up the Future orientation of kibbutz and urban adolescents . Table 1 shows that both kibbutz and urban adolescents structure their future in terms of a lifeplan consisting of normative events like entering the Army, higher education, the world of work and career, and getting married and starting a family. Both groups are more concerned with issues and events pertaining to self than with issues pertaining to alter, be it the individual (Others) or collective (Collective issues). About 25% of kibbutz adolescents and none of the urban adolescents consider a voluntary community service in a young kibbutz or

development area (youth work). Thus, one may conclude that, as predicted, kibbutz and urban adolescents represent their future in terms of similar life domains.

Insert Table 1 about here

The Salience of Future orientation life domains. Analysis of Salience scores of kibbutz and urban adolescents indicates that urban adolescents make more references concerning their future than do kibbutz adolescents. This is reflected in the results of the univariate and multivariate analyses report below. A two-way (social milieu, gender) ANOVA shows a main effect of social milieu on global Future orientation ($F(1,225) = 10.41$ $p = .001$. A two-way (Social milieu, gender) MANOVA for eight life domains (excluding Community service) shows main and interaction efefcts. For social milieu $F(8,215) = 4.17$ $p < .001$, for gender $F(8,215) = 5.60$ $p < .001$ and for social milieu by gender interaction effect $F(8,215) = 2.57$ $p = .01$).

Insert Table 2 about here

The univariate F ratios indicate that social milieu has a significant effect on all five normative life domains, that is School and matriculation ($F(1,222) = 4.82$, $p < .05$), Military service ($F(1,222) = 8.17$ $p < .01$), Higher education ($F(1,222) = 14,28$ $p < .001$), Work and career ($F(1,222) = 8.70$ $p < .01$),

Marriage and family ($F(1,222) = 12.69$ $p < .001$). The univariate analysis also shows that the domains of Military service and Collective issues are more salient for males than for females (for Military service $(1,122) = 10.41$ $p = .001$ and for Collective issues $F(1,222) = 4.17$ $p < .05$). The domains pertaining to Marriage and family and Others are more salient for females than for males (for Marriage and family, $F(1,222) = 16.46$ $p < .001$ and for Others $F(1,222) = 10.72$ $p < .001$). Social milieu by gender interaction indicates that Work and career is significantly more salient for urban males than for all other groups of respondents.

The Specificity of Future orientation life domains. Mean Specificity scores are presented in Table 3. Two-way (Social milieu, gender) ANOVA shows significant social milieu effect ($F(1,224) = 11.99$ $p < .001$) and gender effect ($F(1,224) = 6.97$ $p < .01$). These findings suggest that overall urban adolescents and males have a more detailed and elaborate image of the future than do kibbutz adolescents and females.

Analysis concerning the effect of social milieu and gender on Specificity scores of each life domain was carried out by means of ANOVA because the assumption concerning interdependence among dependent variables could not be satisfied. As reported earlier, the Future orientation Questionnaire instructs respondents to write down as many or as few hopes and fears statements as come to their minds. This resulted in a very small

number of respondents referring to all life domains. Of the 226 only 4 expressed Concerns pertaining to all 8 domains.

The analysis shows that relative to their kibbutz counterparts urban respondents have a more detailed and elaborate image of three future domains: Military service ($F(1,177) = 8.67$ $p < .01$), Higher education ($F(1,128) = 13.97$ $p < .01$) and Others ($F(1,59) = 10.73$ $p < .01$). Analysis also shows two gender differences: males have a more detailed and elaborate representation of Military service ($F(1,177) = 6.12$ $p < .05$) and females have more detailed Concerns regarding Others ($F(1,59) = 6.01$ $p < .05$). None of the social milieu by gender interactions was found significant. This finding only partly supports the proposition that urban adolescents will have a more detailed image of their life as performers of normative adult roles. They do have a more specific image of the Higher education domain but not of the two other life domains (Work and career and Marriage and family). This analysis indicates two other, unpredicted, differences between kibbutz and urban adolescents. Urban adolescents have a more specific image of their Military service and of their concerns regarding Others.

Insert Table 3 about here

Discussion

Following DeVolder's (1979) conceptualization of Future orientation as degree of involvement in the future, one may suggest that Israeli urban adolescents are more highly involved in the future than are kibbutz adolescents of comparable age. The difference between the two groups is manifested in the higher overall Salience and Specificity scores of urban than of kibbutz adolescents as well as in the Salience and Specificity of domains pertaining to normative life events. Two such life domains -- Military service and Higher education -- are both more salient and described with greater detail and elaboration by urban than by kibbutz adolescents. The other three domains pertaining to normative life events -- School and matriculation, Work and career and Marriage and family -- are more salient but not more detailed (Specificity) for urban than for kibbutz adolescents.

In an earlier analysis of adolescents' Future orientation (Seginer, 1986) it was suggested that compulsory military service of Israeli Jewish adolescents removes higher education and the world of Work and career into a more distant future and allows time for weighing alternatives and reaching a decision. However, results of the present analysis show that kibbutz adolescents are even further removed from the future than are urban adolescents. This observation has only one exception, indicated by secondary analysis of Self Concerns. The

subcategory Travelling overseas (upon completion of military service) is more salient for kibbutz than for urban adolescents (mean Travelling Salience score for kibbutz and urban adolescents, is 0.81 and 0.45, respectively $t(225) = 3.79$ $p < .001$).

This finding refutes two possible interpretations of the major finding of this study, namely, that domains associated with future normative life events are less salient for kibbutz than for urban adolescents. One interpretation is that kibbutz adolescents are generally less concerned about the future than are urban adolescents. The other is that kibbutz adolescents are less verbally articulate about the future than are urban adolescents. Instead it is suggested that kibbutz adolescents are only less interested in transition-into-adulthood (Military service, Higher education) and adulthood roles (Work and career, Marriage and family). As long as the future means transience and noncommitment, exemplified by Travelling overseas, it is even more salient for kibbutz than for urban adolescents.

The finding concerning Specificity ratings shows that kibbutz and urban adolescents differ in two transitions to adulthood domains but not in the other domains ("Others" domain pertains to only 30% and 25% of kibbutz and urban respondents, respectively, and therefore will not be further considered). That is, kibbutz adolescents describe their Concerns about Military service and Higher education with less detail and elaboration than do urban adolescents, thereby only partly supporting the prediction

that kibbutz adolescents will describe their Concerns regarding Higher education, Work and career and Marriage and family with less detail and elaboration. These findings do, however, support the ex post facto explanation that kibbutz adolescents, growing up to expect an (almost) unconditional social and economic security, shy away from commitment to adulthood roles, even more than middle class urban adolescents.

The results of this study can be more broadly viewed by comparing them with results of an earlier analysis (Seginer, 1988). That analysis, addressing the Future orientation of Israeli Jewish (the urban subsample of the present study) and Arab adolescents, shows that Jewish (urban) adolescents pay less attention to the future and describe it with less detail than do Arab adolescents. The three groups of Israeli adolescents thus form a sequence of concern about the future which is highest for Arab and lowest for kibbutz adolescents.

This sequence is inversely parallel to another sequence on which the three groups of adolescents can be ordered: appraisal of social milieu's responsiveness to adolescents' prospective needs. Arab adolescents, being part of a process of social change and first generation to seek higher education, profession, and Western lifestyle cannot expect their social environment to support their Western style transition to adulthood and adulthood roles. Urban (Jewish) adolescents grow up in a stable Western environment quite similar to their envisioned adulthood environment. However, while this stability provides

information concerning the future, responsibility for maintaining their middle class position is their own, as these adolescents are frequently reminded. Finally, kibbutz adolescents grow up in an environment which practices the socialistic dictum "To each according to his/her needs" and grants an almost automatic membership to adult children-of-the-kibbutz. These adolescents can thus trust their environment to meet their future needs without having to prepare for it in advance.

The present analysis then suggests a negative relationship between adolescents' appraisal of the environment responsiveness to their prospective needs and Future orientation. This, however, is in seeming contradiction with another set of findings (Shannon 1975; Trommsdorff 1983) indicating a positive relationship between social conditions and future orientation. Examination of these two sets of findings shows that they were collected in different social milieux. That is, data presented by Shannon (1975) and Trommsdorff (1983) describe economically deprived groups, or the lower end of the "social conditions" continuum. Data analyzed in the present study were collected from economically comfortable groups and thus represent the upper end of the "social conditions" continuum.

However, as suggested by Shannon (1975) and Trommsdorff (1983), the crucial factor is the subjective <u>appraisal</u> of the environment responsiveness to one's prospective needs. Focusing on this factor, the following proposition is here suggested. The relationship between the appraisal of the social environment

responsiveness to one's needs and Future orientation has an inverted U-shape. At the lower end of the appraisal of environmental responsiveness the relationship is positive and at the upper end of the appraisal of environmental responsiveness the relationship between it and future orientation is negative.

This prediction concurs with expectancy value models (Heck- hausen 1977). Applied to levels of future orientation, these models suggest that future orientation is the product of the subjective probability to obtain an outcome (Expectancy) and the subjective value of this outcome (Value) as well as the appraisal of the effectiveness of an act vs. a situation to affect desirable outcomes. Data presented in this study suggest that adolescents growing up at both ends of the social privileges continuum appraise the effect of the situation on the attainment of goals as stronger than the effect of their action, and guided by principles of utility or least necessary expenditure (Heckhausen 1977) develop a weaker future orientation.

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Author's Notes

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Table 1.

Percentage of Kibbutz and Urban Adolescents Expressing Concerns in Each Life Domain

	Kibbutz			Urban		
Life domain	Males N=59	Females N=55	Total N=114	Males N=61	Females N=51	Total N=112
School & Matriculation	28.8	21.8	25.4	39.3	29.4	34.8
Military service	81.3	69.5	76.5	91.8	72.5	83.0
High education	40.7	52.7	46.5	68.9	68.6	68.7
Work & career	50.8	63.6	57.0	78.7	68.6	74.1
Marriage & fam.	50.8	63.6	57.0	63.9	86.3	74.1
Self	88.1	90.9	89.5	68.9	82.4	75.0
Others	18.6	41.8	29.8	14.8	35.3	24.1
Collective issues	28.8	29.1	28.9	24.6	19.6	22.3
Community Service	25.4	21.8	23.7	-	-	-

Table 2
Mean Life Domains Salience for Kibbutz and Urban Males and Females

Life Domains	Kibbutz Males (N=59)	Kibbutz Females (N=55)	Kibbutz Total (N=114)	Urban Males (N=61)	Urban Females (N=51)	Urban Total Soc. (N=112)	Univariate F-Ratio Social Milieu	Gender
School and matriculation	0.36 (0.69)	0.27 (0.56)	0.32 (0.63)	0.66 (0.93)	0.39 (0.70)	0.54 (0.84)	4.32*	
Military service	1.68 (1.63)	1.15 (1.40)	1.42 (1.56)	2.23 (1.21)	1.61 (1.01)	1.95 (1.14)	8.17**	10.41***
Higher education	0.56 (0.77)	0.82 (0.96)	0.68 (0.88)	1.25 (1.09)	1.14 (1.23)	1.20 (1.15)	14.28***	
Work and career	0.85 (1.00)	1.15 (1.29)	1.00 (1.15)	1.79 (1.37)	1.10 (1.06)	1.47 (1.28)	8.70	
Marriage and family	0.76 (1.09)	1.20 (1.28)	0.97 (1.20)	1.13 (1.10)	1.98 (1.27)	1.52 (1.25)	12.69***	16.46***
Self	2.31 (1.42)	2.24 (1.55)	2.27 (1.45)	1.79 (1.61)	2.20 (1.65)	1.97 (1.63)		
Others	0.24 (0.63)	0.62 (0.85)	0.42 (0.76)	0.26 (0.70)	0.59 (1.04)	0.41 (0.89)		10.71***
Collective issues	0.58 (1.05)	0.33 (0.55)	0.42 (0.87)	0.47 (1.07)	0.25 (0.56)	0.37 (0.88)		4.16*
Community Service	0.31 (0.56)	0.31 (0.66)	0.31 (0.61)	-	-	-		
Global Future Orientation (Total)	7.63 (3.77)	8.09 (3.52)	7.85 (3.64)	9.57 (3.60)	9.25 (3.83)	9.43 (3.69)	10.41***	

Note: Standard deviations appear in parentheses.
* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$.

Table 3
Mean Life Domains Specificity for Kibbutz and Urban Males and Females

Life Domains	Kibbutz Males (N=59)	Kibbutz Females (N=55)	Kibbutz Total (N=114)	Urban Males (N=61)	Urban Females (N=51)	Urban Total (N=112)	Univariate F-Ratio Social Milieu	Univariate F-Ratio Gender
School and matriculation	1.97 (0.67)	1.96 (0.54)	1.97 (0.61)	2.03 (0.17)	1.89 (0.49)	1.97 (0.34)		
n	17	12	29	24	15	39		
Military service	2.14 (0.71)	1.87 (0.63)	2.02 (0.68)	2.42 (0.68)	2.18 (0.68)	2.33 (0.68)	8.67**	6.12*
n	48	38	86	56	37	93		
Higher education	1.36 (0.62)	1.65 (0.71)	1.52 (0.68)	1.96 (0.62)	1.97 (0.75)	1.96 (0.68)	13.97**	
n	24	29	53	42	35	77		
Work and career	2.20 (0.53)	2.18 (0.52)	2.19 (0.52)	2.05 (0.51)	2.05 (0.64)	2.05 (0.56)		
n	30	35	65	48	35	83		
Marriage and family	1.42 (0.61)	1.33 (0.46)	1.37 (0.53)	1.62 (0.66)	1.53 (0.72)	1.57 (0.69)		
n	27	34	61	39	44	83		
Self	1.68 (0.57)	1.75 (0.61)	1.71 (0.59)	1.87 (0.66)	1.63 (0.72)	1.75 (0.69)		
n	52	50	102	42	42	84		
Others	1.59 (0.49)	2.04 (0.45)	1.90 (0.50)	2.19 (0.60)	2.42 (0.62)	2.35 (0.61)	10.73**	6.06*
n	11	23	34	9	18	27		
Collective issues	1.94 (0.93)	1.66 (0.79)	1.80 (0.86)	2.34 (0.75)	2.00 (0.82)	2.21 (0.78)		
n	17	16	33	15	10	25		
Community Service	1.80 (0.86)	1.65 (0.81)	1.73 (0.83)	-	-	-		
n	15	12	27					
Global Future Orientation	1.84 (0.49)	1.77 (0.40)	1.81 (0.45)	2.11 (0.38)	1.88 (0.42)	2.01 (0.42)	11.99*	6.97**

Notes: Standard deviations appear in parentheses.
n pertains to respondents expressing Concerns in each domain.
* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$.